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some other tribe, the ancient *Caingang* were improvident and consumed their crops as they matured, storing none for the lean months ahead. On the other hand, Horta Barboza (1913, p. 34) states that maize was as important to them as "wheat for the Europeans." The *Caingang* of the region of San Pedro (Misiones), observed by Ambrosetti (1895, p. 337), opened their clearings in tracts covered with bamboo or sparse bush. They broke the small trees with cudgels or by hand. When the dead trees were dry, they burned them and waited until the beginning of the rainy season for sowing. Women planted crops with digging sticks; they also harvested the crops and carried them home. Men do all the farming in the reservation of Palmas.

In modern groups the tiller of a field is recognized as its exclusive owner; if he dies before harvest, the seedlings are destroyed.

**Collecting.**—When the *Caingang* were still living in their aboriginal condition, pine nuts of *Araucaria angustifolia*, a tree which has a distribution coinciding more or less with that of the tribe, was fundamental to the native diet. From April to June the Indians gathered in the forests to climb the trees and knock down the ripened fruits, which the women helped to pick up. The climbing technique—also used in getting honey or in robbing birds' nests—was to pass one noose around the feet, another around the tree and the climber's back, and alternately move the two bands up the trunk. The *Awekoma-Caingang* used only a noose of bamboo strips.

The *Caingang* also collected wild tubers (*Dioscorea* sp.) and a great many wild fruits, such as jaboticaba (*Myrciaria* sp.), pitanga (Myrtaceae sp.), articú (*Annona montana*), pineapples, papaya (*Carica papaya*), caraguatá (*Bromelia* sp.), etc. The starchy pith of the pindo palm (*Cocos romanzoffiana*) was formerly an important food item, but today has been supplanted by manioc flour.

Honey and the larvae of bees and especially the larvae of the tambú beetle, which abound in decayed palm and bamboo trunks, are prized delicacies. It is also reported in some sources that the ancient *Caingang* did not despise snakes or lizards.

**Hunting.**—The *Caingang* spend a large portion of their time hunting alone or in small parties. The dog, treated by some groups as an indispensable auxiliary, is a recent acquisition. Some *Caingang* groups lacked it as late as 1912. To develop the smelling powers of their dogs, the Indians expose them to the smoke of the burnt skin of the game which they are to stalk. They never give them the bones of game animals to gnaw, taking great precaution lest the game be offended.

An entire band participates in a peccary hunt. Old and young, preceded by dogs, endeavor to drive the animals toward hunters, who shoot them with arrows. The *Awekoma-Caingang* follow droves

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224 of wild pigs for several days, killing all those which come within their reach.

The *Aweikoma-Caingang* concentrate on hunting tapirs, which seem to be abundant in their territory. They track them with dogs or follow the deep "runs" opened by the tapirs in the bush and pursue their prey until it is forced into a stream, where they can kill it with ease. Similarly, they drive deer into streams, where they shoot or club them.

To capture birds, hunters conceal themselves in a shelter built on a tree where the birds roost, and snare them with a noose at the end of a long pole. To catch parrots, they use a tame parrot as a decoy; for pigeons, they put corn out as bait (Horta Barboza, 1913, p. 31).

The spring-pole traps were constructed like those of the *Cainguá* or of the Chaco Indians. They consisted of a flexible sapling and a noose placed near a bait (Horta Barboza, 1913, p. 30).

224 **Hunting ritual.**—As a rule a hunter never ate the meat of the game
262 he had slain but gave it to some companion. He could not eat the
783 flesh of a tapir he had killed before he had performed a rite in which he consumed premasticated tapir flesh and the charcoal of the burned tapir's windpipe wrapped in grass (Henry, 1941, p. 86). When the *Aweikoma-Caingang* killed a tapir they stewed "tapir grass" on it and placated its soul with friendly words lest it prevent other tapirs from being caught. Monkeys were also asked to come and share the food of the hunter. *Caingang* of São Paulo considered the jaguar and deer meat taboo (Horta Barboza, 1913, p. 32); others refrain on some occasions from eating paca, capybara, and armadillo flesh.

226 **Fishing.**—The *Caingang*, although fond of fish, are very poor fishermen. They shoot fish with bows and arrows, impale them with two-pronged spears, or catch them by hand in the falls when shoals of fish ascend the river to spawn. They also capture them by hand in small lagoons formed by floods, which they drain (Horta Barboza, 1913, pp. 32–33). The *Caingang* of Misiones blocked small streams with V-shaped stone dams. Against the openings they built a platform on which they placed a large mat folded and tied up at one end like a huge bag.

221 **Seasonal rhythm.**—After planting their fields, the *Caingang* of Misiones went fishing along the small tributaries of the Paraná River. Later they moved to the Sierra Central to collect pine nuts, and afterward returned to their fields for the harvest. During their wanderings they hunted and gathered fruits and larvae in the forest.

252 **Food preparation.**—The women do most of the cooking, though men generally prepare the game they kill. The *Caingang* generally roast the unskinned animal in ashes, on a spit, or on a rectangular babracot. The earth oven serves for baking large slices of meat,

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562 either a masculine or a feminine object. The vulgar English terms can take
822 only feminine objects, and thus reveal in the very grammatical form of our vulgarisms the feeling that the male is the active and aggressive partner. But among the Kaingáng if Chukembégn picks up his hundred and fifty pound wife by the ears and thumps her down with tears of pain starting from her eyes, she may get up immediately and pound him as the tears trickle down her laughing face, and he roars with delight. Sexual approaches range all the way from the unobtrusive contact of bare legs beside the evening fires to open, ribald, and aggressive onslaughts by both men and women.

[149] Although I never put it to the test, I have a strong feeling that the widowed Kundídn, like many of her sex, was stronger than I. Her amorous pinches, punches, and pushes were a trial to me. Kundídn's aggressiveness stopped only at direct snatches at the sexual organs.

Anggló, who was having a passionate affair with Kanyahé, was not averse to pressing another suit on the side. While she did not square off in the boxerlike manner of Kundídn, she was aggressive enough in her own mild way. She did not pinch so hard nor call so loud, but if there were no one around, her quiet "I should like to talk to you and see the inside of your house" would set me thinking how I could best avoid her without hurting her feelings. But I might have spared myself worry on that score, for in this society, which lays no stress on man's aggressiveness as against woman's passivity, a woman who makes advances feels no vindictive anger at a repulse. In our society a woman who temporarily steps out of her culturally decreed role of the attacked to become the attacker feels shame that quickly becomes resentment against the desired object if she is rebuffed. The shame that she feels at reversing her part in the drama of the sexes is forgotten if she obtains her desire and turns to anger if she does not. But the Kaingáng women are able to make the same jocular approaches day after day without a change of attitude.

837 When a husband goes away his wife becomes fair game for anyone who is interested, and she is generally willing prey for the enterprising hunter. I must often have served all unwittingly as a chaperon to some man's wife while he was away hunting, but although my naive presence may have seriously handicaped the pair I was left to chaperon, it did not always inhibit them entirely. One day while Chukembégn, his wife Chantágn, [150] Kanggúin, and I were on a hillside feasting on wasp's larvae, the bark of the dogs in pursuit of a tapir came faintly from the distance. Chukembégn seized his gun and was away in a flash, leaving his wife, Kanggúin, and me alone. When he had gone Kanggúin began to boast of his love affairs and to remark how curious it was that he never married. On the way back to camp he kept singing all the way, stopping every once in a while to say:

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761 Far from permitting them control over species of plants and animals, the pessimistic totemism of the Kaingáng simply adds one more gloomy trait to the prevailingly somber character of their supernaturalism. Their totems are solely omens of death, for "When the Klendó are about to die there is no honey—there are only bees. When the Wanyekí are about to die the tapirs are very thin, because they are Wanyekí's *mang*. The pine tree belongs to Thethé [the circle people], and when they are about to die there are no pine cones. When they die they burn them in a dry pine tree. Before Chulí fell there were no pine cones—and then he fell. They burnt him in a dry pine tree. Before the Brazilians killed Kuikégn, the pines were the same way."

262 Like most peoples the world over, the Kaingáng reject certain things as foods while they accept others. But their preferences have little to do with their totemic ideas. There is a story in an origin myth of one of the line people who swam about in the water so much that he became a capavary, so that now the line people do not eat capavary; if they were to do so it would be like eating their own people. But almost no one at all eats capavary, nor do they eat armadillo or paca, that delicious fat little rodent that eludes the hunter like a streak of light. Some people abstain from tiger, but others eat its heart to make them valiant like the tiger, which roams and fights alone. None of these taboos are observed by everyone. Some animals from which the Kaingáng abstain were practically impossible for them to kill under the conditions of their old life, in which they had no traps or boats. The capavary is taken by trapping, the paca by trapping or by pursuit in a boat from which the hunter may kill it with a trident in the shallow water where it has hidden. The swift-flying and hypersensitive wild ducks are extremely hard to approach, and the meat of anteater and certain water birds has a very bad flavor. There seems to be less reason for abstaining from the toad, the armadillo, and the tiger. The Kaingáng say that they do not eat the tiger because its fat is white (not yellow like other animals') and that they abstain from armadillo because its bones break so easily that they are afraid their own will break.

All of these things that the Kaingáng do not eat are called *thangglīgn*, which is the term they use for anything dirty. People who eat things that [753] are *thangglīgn* will lose their teeth, break their bones, or grow old prematurely.

### *Omens*

787 The prevailing reason for the interest of the Kaingáng in omens is death. "I saw that before Padnmbá died it rained very heavily first," said Chukembégn. "Then the river rose after his death. The bees did not make honey—they just lived in the trees." All of this was because Padnmbá was

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224 I have never seen a deer killed except in this way. It is child's play and was obviously learnt from the whites.[5] In the old days they were killed only by stalking or through a sudden encounter in the forest. They are rarely mentioned in folklore. After deer the pig-like *tateti* is the next largest game animal. I never heard of its being stalked, and the *tateti* that were taken during my stay among the Kaingáng were all killed cooperatively. Dogs drove them into their burrows, and a number of men combined to get them out. One day my dogs drove a *tateti* into a burrow on the side of a hill; while one man shoved into the burrow a bundle of flaming bamboo on the end of a long pole the others stood around with loaded guns, and when the beast emerged it was shot. Sometimes men wait above the entrance to the burrow and club the *tateti* when it emerges.

Peccary hunting I know only by hearsay. Although a couple of troops of peccary (called "pig of the forest" by the settlers) passed by while I was among the Kaingáng I took no part in their pursuit. The Indians, however, tell me that they surround and shoot them or stab them with knives on the ends of poles. Sometimes, however, they are pursued by one man alone. They are very dangerous animals when brought to bay, and it is well to keep one's distance. Formerly peccary were an important item of Kaingáng diet, but nowadays they have grown scarce in the vicinity of Duque de Caxias and are not found even far up the river. *"Nggĩyúdn* has become angry with us," the Indians say, "and has closed up the pigs in his corral."

223 The Kaingáng have no bird snares, and all birds are shot individually with the bow and arrow where they are encountered.

### *Subsistence Figures*

262 146a The following discussion is based on the data which I collected during five weeks' hunting trip into the forests with the Indians. During that time it was possible for me to keep a fairly accurate check on the distribution of meat because the population was concentrated in one spot, and the entire organization of the camp was directed toward getting meat for everyone. Conditions at the post, however, are quite different. There the [361] population is scattered along a half-mile trail and on both sides of the river, and it is therefore impossible to keep a day-to-day check even were such a check valuable—which I doubt, for in the region of the post game is ex-

[5] Waiting in a canoe for animals to fall into the river seems hardly removed from waiting at the termination of or along a *carreira*—a further suggestion that the entire technique was taken over from the settlers. The agent used to tell me: "When I first came into this region all you had to do was turn your dogs loose in the forest, and the animals would come tumbling into your canoe."

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extremely scarce, and the Indians, instead of spending their time hunting, spend a great part of it tilling the soil.

The data that I offer present problems rather than solve them. They were collected at a particular time of the year: when the most important wild crop of the region, pine nuts, was ripe; when it was still warm and the tapirs ran slowly; when the females were heavy with young; when some wild fruits other than the pine nut were ripe and on the trees; when the bees were still making honey and their young had not yet begun to devour it. In other words, it was the most nearly perfect time of the year in the region where the Kaingáng would find it easiest to get food. Pine trees were abundant, which meant not only food for the Indians but also food for monkeys and all the four-footed animals that might live on the fallen nuts, particularly the peccary. Besides this the region was cut by many streams into which the dogs might drive the tapir so that the hunter could kill it easily. The difference that such a terrain makes in hunting tapir is amazing. Time after time dogs have been taken a little way up the river and turned loose on fresh tapir tracks only to run fruitlessly all day long because the lie of the land was such that the tapir need never drive toward a stream. The flat top of the ridge stretched for miles unintersected by any streams until it ended three hours journey to the northwest in the Deniker River. It was one of my grievances against the Indians that they would take my dogs to such a place against my will and let them run after a tapir until night overtook them, far out of reach of anyone, whereupon the Indians would return, leaving the dogs in the forest. Days later they would wander in, their snouts full of porcupine quills and their hides cut by the teeth of *quatí*.

At the time of my study the Indians had hunted over the same area for almost twenty years. It is vast, and tapir are still to be found there; yet persistent hunting in one area must affect the number of animals, particularly when the favorite season for hunting tapir is the time of the pine nuts, i.e. when the females are heavy with young. Hunting by the settlers, although not very frequent, nevertheless occurs and may affect the quantity of game animals. On the other hand, during the five weeks' hunt the Indians had the use of my dogs—two well-trained tapir hunters—which I managed to keep fairly well fed. Under aboriginal conditions it would be rare for the Indians to have specially trained tapir-hunters, and they would never be well fed. This, of course, reduces the dog's efficiency.

Not all of the adult or adolescent males were armed during the trip, which, of course, reduced the efficiency of the group. Nowadays the young men never learn to shoot with bow and arrow, and if they are too poor to buy a gun they cannot hunt.

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*Figures for Five Weeks' Trip*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Tapirs Killed*: 7[8] × *Average Weight* 200 lbs. = | 1400 lbs. |
| Average population during 5 weeks | 18 (not including infants) |
| Pounds of meat per person for 5 weeks | 77 |
| Pounds of meat per person per day | 2⅕ |

The figures are self-explanatory as far as tapir are concerned. During this time about ten monkeys were killed and a number of birds of varying sizes of which I could not keep track. The weight of the monkeys as compared to the combined weights of the tapirs is so small that I shall not include them in the figures.

The figure of two and a fifth pounds of meat per day should be modified, as allowance must be made for the heavy hide, bones, and internal waste. Such an allowance would bring the weight per person down to less than two pounds. Not all of this meat remained in camp, for a considerable portion of it was taken away by Indians returning to the post. In addition to this meat the Indians were plentifully supplied with pine nuts most of the time and they sometimes had a fair supply of *tai*, a yellow fruit with a tasty pulp of very doubtful nutritive value. The quantities of other kinds of fruits consumed was negligible. The Indians also had along with them on this trip small quantities of corn and manioc meal and beans, and the new arrivals would bring food from the post. With all this, at no time could it be said that there was a surplus of anything but pine nuts. These were buried in a stream bottom to preserve them.

The Indians ate moderately; yet rarely did any kill seem to last us more than three days. This would mean about fourteen meatless days out of thirty-five. Fourteen meatless days would indicate that if the Kaingáng had eaten all the meat they killed they would have consumed not 2.2 pounds per person daily but 3.7 pounds. But probably as much or more than a third of the meat was taken back to the post. This would leave the original figure of about two pounds per person daily. To us two pounds of meat a day seems an extremely large quantity, but we do not view meat, as the Kaingáng do, as our principal food. To the Kaingáng, meat is the principal article of diet; everything else is garnish.[7]

*Gathering Pine Nuts*

An Indian selects several flawless bamboo stems,[8] cuts them down, splits them carefully from end to end into four strips about an inch wide, exam-

[8] An eighth tapir was killed the day before we returned to the post.

[7] This also makes quite a different picture from most of Melanesia, where vegetable foods are most important and meat is the garnish.

[8] Full-grown bamboo stems are about 15 feet in length.

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*Distribution of Population*

At the time of their pacification the Kaingáng were distributed on both 361
ides of the Rio Plate within, at the most, three or four days' journey on
oot from the pine forest. It is impossible to determine through question-
ng exactly what determined the movements of all of one extended family
nder conditions of minimum tension. It was not exclusively food. If it
were we would expect all of the members of the family around the Rio
Plate to have gone to the pine forest in the fall. But only certain groups
would go. Within the extended families the movements were determined
quite as much by the desire to attack or the necessity of fleeing from the
Brazilians and the wish to look for one another as by the quest for food.

# Fruit and Insect Foods

*Other Fruit and Roots*

While I was among the Kaingáng wild fruits were not important. They 222
ither gather fruit when it falls to the ground, climb up after it, or chop 262
he tree down.

I never heard of the Kaingáng using any roots for food.

*Wasps and Bees*

We can see the wasps buzzing about the opening to their nest twenty
eet above the ground in a huge tree that looks as if it were made of three
rees grown together. The trunk forms a kind of cavern, and when we step
nside we see that the part in which the wasps have built their nest is
ollow all the way up. We collect wood and build a big fire at the base of
he trunk, and the smoke rises as if up a chimney. We build another fire
utside the trunk so that the wasps will not come down to annoy us. As
he smoke pours out of the opening to the nest the wasps come with it, and
oon there is a hum like a buzzsaw as thousands of wasps buzz about the
ntrance to their nest. When my two companions are convinced that the
wasps have been completely evicted they take axes and go to work on the
ree. When it at last crashes the nest has fallen through an arc of twenty-
oot radius. No wasps are in sight now, but a fire is set on top of the tree
ear the nest to keep any chance wanderers away. Again the axes cut, and
oon the structure of the nest has been laid bare: tier on tier of cells full of
arvae and pupae. We take out the layers of the paperlike structure and in
ur hunger eat the contents raw. They are sweet, rich, and juicy. Now we
uild small fires and lay the cells against them to roast. Having eaten my
ill, I receive no more. The two Indians divide the nest, the one who dis-
overed it getting the larger share.

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Honey is got out of a "dangerous" bees' hive in much the same way. Two or more men cooperate in the chopping and handling of the fire, and the honey is divided among them. Honey is a kind of free food, for when a hive is discovered anyone who happens along may share it. On the other hand, honey that has been collected is the property of whoever has found it, and sometimes it is hidden so that other folks will not take it. Wasps are not a very important food item for the Kaingáng, but honey is, although it is somewhat of a delicacy. No one thinks of making a meal of honey, but it is a godsend in the middle of the day.

When the Kaingáng were first pacified, says the agent, they climbed up to a hive if it was out of reach, but in these degenerate days they chop the tree down rather than climb it. Although the Kaingáng did not always climb up to a hive that was too far up on the trunk to be reached from a scaffold, they certainly did it frequently, and 1 per cent of the total number of deaths was due to falls from beehives. It was a hazardous occupation, for the climbing-loop might break or slip. Nowadays the most the Kaingáng do in this way is to build little scaffolds from which they chop out hives that may be six or seven feet above the ground. These scaffolds are made by lashing and cross-lashing posts to adjacent trees. Sometimes the scaffold consists only of a few steeply sloping posts that are tied together and leaned against a tree. The Indian stands on this uncertain perch and sinks his axe precisely around the edges of the hive so that it scarcely touches the delicate honey-laden cells. When the hive has been laid bare he places it entire in his wax-lined basket and sponges up with tree hair, a mosslike growth that clings to most of the trees in the forest, whatever honey has escaped.

### *Honey Beer*

A man and his cousins or brothers decide to make beer for his in-laws. They cut down cedars, hollow them for troughs, and go to look for honey. After several days they have enough. Then they send their wives for water to fill the troughs. The honey is poured into the water, and the water is heated with hot stones. The stones are placed in special cylindrical baskets which are submerged in the water and suspended from rods placed across the mouth of the trough and moved from one end of it to the other. The woody stem of a fern called *nggign* is pounded and titrated and the red infusion mixed in the trough. This is to "make the beer red"; without *nggign*, say the Kaingáng, the beer would not ferment. This goes on for days, and then the mouth of the trough is covered with strips of bark and the beer is left standing several days longer. When it begins to bubble the Indians decide that it is *thó*, intoxicating or bitter, and ready to drink. The Indians say that instead of water the milk of a kind of palm is some-

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765 may not eat cooked food until they have completed the ritual series. If they 783 did they would get hot inside and die. The *thûpáya* must refrain from all 262 meat; all they are allowed to eat is honey and vegetable foods, and by the end of their *waikómáng* they may be very thin. If a widower encounters game he may shoot it, but he must not eat it. Instead he opens its belly and rubs the blood "all over himself to wash off[2] the hunting[3] that he used to do for his wife. This is called wiping[4] off and throwing away. He does the same with honey, bees' larvae, and bee sugar. He shoots tapir, pigs, deer, *tateti*, monkeys, jacutingas, howler monkeys, macucas, ururús [and a number of other birds]. He shoots several and does this wiping himself off."[5] By rubbing himself with the blood of game animals the husband removes one of the principal ties with his wife, for during her life he had shot game for her. Thus the whole ritual, including the fasting, is a transparent cleansing ceremony, in which the very terminology makes the psychological point clear. The Kaingáng do not feel that the dead are impure or that they contaminate, but that the *kuplêng* follows the vestiges of its earthly life, to the peril of survivors.

765 The *thûpáya* does not remain so far away from camp that he is completely out of contact. Under aboriginal conditions that would have put him in actual peril of his life from human enemies,[6] but always remains close enough for some woman to prepare a sleeping-place for him every night. There he sleeps alone with two stems of the *nggign* fern[7] in his arms "just as he used to hold his wife.[8] The *kuplêng* is afraid of these and goes away.". Women remain nearer to camp than men, and if they have nursing infants they take them along. They do not always sleep alone, for often a woman who prepares the sleeping-place for the *thûpáya* and sprinkles it with protective herbs wraps her in her arms all night long in a protective embrace against her husband's *kuplêng*. If there have been a number of deaths at one time, as from a raid by the *bugreiros* or by ven-

[2] *Waikupé*, to wash oneself.

[3]

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *ẽ* | *plų* | *thí* | *mẽ ẽ* | *zẽ* | *pánái yẽ* |
| his wife | her for | he | (instru-mental particle) | shoot | place |

Literally, the place where he used to shoot for his wife.

[4] *Waiuyekéi*, to wipe oneself. Without the reflexive it means "to wipe," as in cleansing the barrel of a gun.

[5] Women, since they have not the weapons with which to kill animals, simply rub themselves with honey.

[6] When the Brazilian Indian hunters, the *bugreiros*, were thought to be in the neighborhood, no one went on *waikómáng*.

[7] See p. 187 fn.

[8] Or husband.

X193
X539

(5) *kū ŋv kɔɪŋgɜk tɛ̄ vv'ŋgɔ tɛ̄ ka ɛ*
then man a larva during his
*plū tɛ̄ ko 'vaɪ kū tɛ̄*
wife coitus never and
So during the time of the *vv'ŋgɔ* men refrain from cohabiting with their wives.

(6) *kū ɔŋ ŋv ŋaɪka'ŋglɔ̃ŋ mu*
then imitate
Then they imitated.

(7) *kū ŋv ɔŋ paŋ ka'ŋglɔ̃ŋ mu*
then they shoot imitate
Then they experimented shooting.

In the following sentences, containing verbs similar in structure to the text example, we shall also see that when the verb has a direct object *ŋaɪ* disappears:

(1) *ɛŋ ha e tʃɔ̃ ɲɛŋga ku'pe e tʃɔ̃ ŋaɪɲɛ 'pe ŋa*
I I hand wash I wash
I am washing my hands.

(2) *ɛŋ ha e tʃɔ̃ ɛ tɛ̄ to ŋaɪɲɛ'pō ŋa*
I I house order
I ordered the house (to be made).

(3) *a ha mbæŋ dʒɔklā tɛ̄ to ɛŋ ɲɛ'pō ŋa*
you axe handle me order
You ordered me to make a handle for your axe; i. e. I was ordered to make a handle for your axe.

(4) *kū yi ŋv ŋanɛ'ŋglō tɛ̄*
then it is said a male personal name
*ɛ ka'lɜ 'yɜlɜ ɛ tɔ̃ 'tu*
his (own) lance cord he carry on the back
*kū ŋaɪɲɛ'klæŋ nɛ*
and recite the origin myths sit
Then *ŋanɛ'ŋglō* was sitting reciting the origin myths with his small lance (a small lance hung around the neck by a fibre strap) hanging down his back.

*ko kɔ'ma ko 'klæŋ*
eat fear (?) (ant eater) eat recite the
*ŋa*
origin myths
It is the origin myth about the eating of the ant-eater (a tabu animal).

[p.205(1)]

raising their feet while their body rests against the cord. [121] In this fashion they scale the straight trunk of the Araucaria with wonderful rapidity and skill. Once they have reached the top, they climb among the branches and shake them to make the cones fall.

The seeds [pinhões] are simply roasted in the fire, crushed in a mortar, and reduced to a mush which is used to prepare a broth cooked with water. With this paste they also make small cakes, round and flat, the size of a saucer, which are roasted on the embers. The seeds cannot be stored very long when fresh because they soon become infested with worms. To preserve them, the Indians place the pinhões in special baskets, well sealed and previously lined with cactus leaves. These baskets are immersed in small streams at especially selected locations for a month and a half. This preserves the nuts, which retain their nutritive qualities for a long period of time. Obviously, they are all but appetizing when removed from the water; they exude a powerful and unpleasant odor and their taste is repulsive and intolerable to our stomach. The Indians, however, are not upset in the least by these new characteristics of the pinhões, which they still prize very highly. The broths and cakes described above are largely made from the preserved nut.

Wild honey also plays an important part in their diet, and they cannot do without it. Their ability time and again to discover a bee nest in the midst of the forest, nearly always at the top of a high tree, could only be described as an instinct or an additional sense. Once the nest has been sighted, they scale the tree by means of the process described above, with cord and strap, which they use [once on top] to steady themselves against the tree. This leaves their arms free to wield the short-handled axe with remarkable sureness and skill. They split the wood exactly in the right place and make an opening in the shape of a perfect triangle. Every part of the bee nest is utilized: the chrysalids are eaten along with the honey and comb, and every bit of the wax is gathered for various purposes.

They do not merely eat the chrysalids of bees but also those of other insects such as wasps, hornets, etc., the nests of which they seek out eagerly.

Apparently the dearth of game in these southern woods forced the Indians to resort to every possible means of satisfying their hunger.

262 They acquired the habit of eating chrysalids and larvae of all kinds, especially the maggot found in rotting wood [coró] which they eat raw as well as roasted, or cooked on the fire inside a bamboo sprout. Then necessity turned into habit; although the need no longer remains, the Indians continue to seek out chrysalids and larvae as refined changes of diet.

224 When the warriors are gone for long periods of time, the women catch small game by means of snares and traps, for they do not wield any weapons.

226 Curiously enough, the Botocudo are not familiar with fishing, even in its most primitive form, though rivers abounding with fish are to be found in their area.

262 177 Before the time of peaceful contact, they were already familiar with maize, squash and manioc flour, which they obtained in the course of their raids on civilized communities. But they were altogether unfamiliar with potatoes, the manioc tuber, beans, rice, yams, the taro root, etc., which they have since come to know and which they greatly value.

342 The Botocudo set up their shelters by driving slender stakes close together into the ground. [122] These sticks are bent in the shape of a bow, and their tip secured to a heavy horizontal rod which is usually fastened in two trees at the height of a man. The resulting dome-shaped roof is covered with palm leaves, brush, or ferns. A lateral area of about one meter is always left open to permit observation toward the rear and thus avoid any surprises. The fire is lit on the exposed side of the shelter, and the Indians watch over it continually to make sure that it does not go out.

Each of these huts is utilized by a single family.

[361] The shelters are lined evenly in parallel groups of two to eight huts which together form a camp.

When circumstances such as celebrations or the Araucaria seed harvest compel them to remain in the same place for a longer period of time, they build their huts with greater care and make them larger. Two shelters are built face to face and their roofing connected so that the curved sticks are secured to each other instead of being fastened to a horizontal rod. This results in a perfect vault. Each of these enlarged